

The Sun

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An Ally of Honest Municipal Government.

In looking over the recent report of the Charter Revision Commission and the various appendices thereto we find that of the 464 pages of matter composing the document not less than 334 pages, or more than seven-tenths, comes from a source which the commission describes in this well deserved acknowledgment:

"Early in its work the commission felt the need of a thorough analysis of the government of the city, not only as it exists in the statute books, but in actual practice from day to day. It realized that to obtain this would require the assistance of a thoroughly trained staff. Availing itself of a tender of assistance from the Bureau of Municipal Research, the commission requested the bureau to prepare a report on the distribution of administrative functions, and accordingly received a complete analysis, which has been incorporated."

Of the value of this contribution the commission's report goes on to say:

"The commission believes that no similar analysis had previously been made, and records with pleasure its appreciation of this disinterested service, which will doubtless prove of great value to any future commission charged with the duty of revising the present or preparing a new charter. The charts show the organization of each department of the city government as it actually exists at the present time. The tables explain how far this organization is controlled by the Charter and how far it is the result of administrative rules or regulations authorized by but not included in the Charter."

Among the authorities signing this certificate of the value of the work performed for the commission by the Bureau of Municipal Research are Mayor McCLELLAN and Comptroller METZ. The bureau's charts and analytical tables do, in fact, constitute such an atlas of our municipal government and such a guide to its practical operations as are not elsewhere available, so far as we know, to the student, the investigator or the interested citizen.

Again, in transmitting the results of the special examination which led to the recent removal by Governor HUGHES of the President of the Borough of Manhattan, the Commissioners of Accounts of the city of New York reported as follows to the Mayor:

"In making our examinations and conducting our inquiry we have been greatly aided by the constant cooperation of the Bureau of Municipal Research."

These two cases illustrate the somewhat remarkable place which this entirely unofficial searchlight has succeeded in winning for itself in the municipal economy. Some of the bureau's friends are appealing, we believe, to the public spirited and benevolent for a permanent endowment that will establish the institution and insure its continued usefulness. This is a legitimate ambition on the part of the managers of the bureau, and we do not hesitate to help in giving publicity to their hopes. The work heretofore done by them has been not only intelligently performed but also unselfishly rendered, and has counted always for the cause of honest government.

The continuance of the Bureau of Municipal Research on the present basis is desirable. Indeed, no other function on its part than that of the wholly unofficial assistant, whose expert advice and trained services are available to the public departments, but whose cooperation can never under any circumstances be imposed upon the really responsible officers of the city government, would be tolerable or possible.

The Universal Bourgeois.

M. AYNAUD, who may be described as the Lord Avebury of France, being at once a learned and eloquent member of the Institute, a banker and a Deputy, made an appeal to his countrymen the other day which has a familiar sound to American ears and suggests that the extinction of caste by democracy and commerce has some similar results on both sides of the ocean. He complained that French business men, whom he called the most active and intelligent as well as the largest section of the community, do not by any means take their proper part in politics, but leave them to the mercies of professionals who lack that sense of responsibility which, in M. AYNAUD's opinion, is commonly developed in traders and manufacturers by their daily pursuits. On moral and utilitarian grounds he pleaded earnestly with the business men to enter Parliament and give up their selfish indifference, to which he attributed most of the ills of the time.

This appeal was only an incident, however, in a speech which was mainly occupied in showing that the bourgeois as a class has passed out of existence. The insignia of the one time bourgeois are suggested in the proverbial phrase, "Le petit bourgeois endimanché." His dress came between the ermine of the noble and the blouses of the peasant and artisan. Now the ermine is put away, and the blouses are rapidly disappearing too. In short, the bourgeois dress is the only dress left, and here also the clothes are the man. The bourgeois is the only class left. M. AYNAUD in announcing the passing of the bourgeois was really

proclaiming his omniscience. But what marks every one marks no one.

In giving this glimpse of the obvious, as it may seem to us, M. AYNAUD was striking a blow at a tyranny of words which, in this special instance, is not felt by ourselves. The French Socialists still declare war against the bourgeoisie as if it were a hermetically closed caste tyrannizing over the workingman. M. AYNAUD had no difficulty in showing that this is a figment of the socialistic imagination; and he offered an interesting proof of the delusion from his native city of Lyons, where he is president of the Chamber of Commerce. Inquiring into the origins of the thousand principal commercial houses of that city, he found that six of them dated back from before the Revolution; nine showed three generations of proprietors; eighty-six showed two generations. The others, or practically ninety per cent., were founded by their present heads, who in nearly every case had risen from the ranks, or in socialistic parlance from the proletariat. Still easier, it may be supposed, might such a proof be established in this country. In truth, M. AYNAUD's discovery is not new even in France, for LAMENNAIS long ago declared: "The bourgeois always has been and always will be by origin a successful artisan." And early in the last century the publicist BLANQUI announced: "To-day every good workman becomes a bourgeois in his turn."

The French press, the *Figaro* and the *Temps*, for instance, makes a good deal out of M. AYNAUD's "discovery," as an argument, which it undoubtedly is, there as here, against some absurd grievances. If the socialistic watchword is, as some of the more sensible of that class now declare, "an equal opportunity for all," such demonstrations as M. AYNAUD's are quite pertinent.

The Pursuit of Land Thieves.

When that accomplished young statesman the Hon. JAMES R. GARFIELD was appointed Secretary of the Interior many were hopeful and some were confident that he would even outdo his predecessor in striking down the land frauds and that he would diligently follow up the indictments recorded during Mr. HITCHCOCK's incumbency. The result has been disappointing. A few insignificant scalp have been added to the collection with which Mr. HITCHCOCK adorned the lodge pole of the Interior Department, but there has been little done, so far as is known, to excite any serious alarm in the wigwags of the land grabbers.

Soon after his appointment the onetime doughty trailer of the beef trust and the oil trust went to the region in which gigantic frauds against the Government have been perpetrated, and it was thought that his presence and his investigations would quickly result in more rascals in jail, more of the nation's property recovered. Great work may have been done, but the expected results are not yet visible. A clue to the seeming fruitlessness has now been revealed. The writing of an annual report for such a department is a laborious undertaking, but Mr. GARFIELD's report has not consumed all his time; nor has lawn tennis used up all the hours left over from work on the annual report. It is stated that he has sent to the Senate some forty bills which he has drafted, or caused to be drafted, for the edification and guidance of that body.

Instead of being grateful for this invaluable service, the Senate is disposed to resent advice and instructions submitted in this manner. That usually suave but sometimes caustic person Mr. ALDRICH commented on the practice by saying: "We [the Senators] are not here to receive suggestions, much less dictation of any kind from any executive officer except the President as to what legislation we should originate or what we should do." Irrespective of any question of propriety or of precedent, Mr. GARFIELD has done himself no good by his method of trying to set the feet of the United States Senate in the path of wise and needed legislation which would enable him to do some of the things that his predecessor did with the laws as he found them.

In his reports Mr. HITCHCOCK recommended legislation which he thought was desirable and other legislation which he regarded as almost imperative, but he did not wait for new laws. He "landed" offenders by tens and indicted them by hundreds. He won the plaudits of his fellow citizens by his relentless pursuit of rascals.

Mr. HITCHCOCK did what he could with the laws as they are; Mr. GARFIELD busies himself with drafting proposals for laws as he thinks they should be.

Cattle Driving in Ireland.

The British Liberal party has long proceeded on the principle that when laws are violated in Ireland recourse should be made exclusively to the ordinary machinery of justice. In pursuance of this principle, Mr. BRIDGES, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, has hitherto refused to apply the Crimes act in those Irish districts where cattle driving is practised, although he is vehemently urged to take such a step by the cattle owners, who point out that the jury system has broken down, as it has proved impossible to secure a verdict against any of the offenders. In the end the Bannerman Government may find itself constrained to resort to coercion, but meanwhile it is trying the effect of moral suasion, and now it is receiving powerful assistance from the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, who has caused a letter denouncing cattle driving as illegal, immoral and foolish to be read at mass in all the churches of his archdiocese.

Mr. BRIDGES's reluctance to employ the harsh instrumentalities provided by the Crimes act is intelligible enough when we recall the grievous condition of the peasants in the congested districts of Connaught, where almost all the fertile land is used for grazing purposes. It has been acknowledged by fair minded Unionists, as well as by all Liberals, that Ireland's agrarian problem will never be solved until the grazing region of the West has been acquired and distributed in small allotments among the

peasantry. To that end it is possible that some plan for compulsory purchase will have to be adopted, although hitherto all the agrarian measures that have been enacted, including the Wyndham law, have been based on the assumption that all sales shall be voluntary.

Under any circumstances it would be difficult to prevail upon the House of Lords to sanction a compulsory purchase bill, and that chamber would certainly prove recalcitrant if it believed itself to be upheld by British public opinion. That is why the worst enemies of landless Irishmen are the cattle drivers, who by defying the law alienate the sympathies of law abiding people in Great Britain. The impatience of the peasantry in Connaught is natural enough, for their own conversion into owners of sufficient fertile land to avert starvation seems far distant, whereas the circumstances of their brethren in other parts of Ireland have been materially improved. Impatience is folly, however, as the Archbishop of Tuam points out.

An application of the Crimes act to any part of Ireland would have grave consequences for the British Liberal party. So far, indeed, as the present House of Commons is concerned, it might survive both the defection of the Laborites and the transformation of the Irish Nationalists from allies into opponents and obstructionists. But, as recent by-elections have shown, the Liberals could scarcely hope to obtain a working majority at the next general appeal to the constituencies if they should lose the Irish vote in British boroughs, for the Laborites have already decided to put forward candidates of their own, even in districts which they have no hope of carrying. At the last general election every Irish vote in England, Wales and Scotland was given to Liberal nominees, except in the Scotland Labor vote of Liverpool, which Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR has long represented. The Liberal nominees also received the Union Labor vote in all districts except those where the Laborites had reason to believe themselves more numerous than either the Liberals or the Unionists. The result was that the Laborites only returned some thirty members to the present House, which number is very far from representing their voting strength.

What may make the Irish Nationalists hesitate at the next general election to administer a rebuke to the Liberals by supporting the Unionist nominees in England, as, under PARKER's instructions, they did in 1885, is the reflection that they have nothing more to hope for from a Unionist Government. When the Unionists acquiesced in the extension of local autonomy to Ireland and passed the Wyndham Land Purchase bill they undoubtedly deemed themselves to have touched the utmost limit of concession. This they proved when they rejected Lord DUNRAVEN's scheme for the devolution of large administrative and some legislative powers to an elective Dublin Council. Moreover, although Mr. BAILEY himself is in favor of providing Irish Catholics with a great teaching university, he has never ventured to make such a project a Cabinet measure, for he is aware that a large majority of his party is opposed to it. It is true that the Irish educational institution recently proposed by the Bannerman Government has been repelled by the Irish Nationalists as unsatisfactory, but they would surely have a better chance of securing hereafter an acceptable substitute from the Liberals than from the Unionists.

It is probable that if the Irish Chief Secretary would promise to introduce in the House of Commons on a definite date a bill dealing in a drastic way with the congested districts of Connaught the cattle driving which is giving him so much trouble would cease.

In Boston of All Places.

If Old Home Week should become an "institution" in Boston, city of memories Colonial and Revolutionary, it may be necessary to get out a guide book every year for the information of returning exiles and prodigal sons. Old landmarks they will find in the same places, but probably under alien and unfamiliar designations. There has begun in Boston a movement to give it a new set of names which will make the foreign born feel more at home; how far it shall go depends upon the moderation of the City Council and the complaisance of the Mayor. In them and him are vested right and authority to make any transformations they see fit.

By the Common Council a resolution has been passed to change North Square, in whose church tower the beacon lanterns were lit on the night of PATRICK'S ride, to Scigliano Square, in memory of a deceased representative of the Italian quarter. GEORGE A. SCIGLIANO, a promising young politician who long served in the Common Council and the State House of Representatives. The resolution will go to the Board of Aldermen and afterward to Mayor FITZGERALD, who talks Italian as fluently as Gaelic and never fails to introduce GARIBOLDI and VICTOR EMMANUEL in his speeches at the North End. The Board of Aldermen at the same time will receive a resolution to change Barry Square in the Brighton district, at the suggestion of Councilman DORRITY of East Boston, to Boyle O'Reilly Square.

At first blush the reform in nomenclature will seem like a profanation to the old stock, and we can imagine descendants of the signers, soldiers, statesmen and divines who made history "viewing with alarm" and calling down the wrath of Tradition upon the iconoclasts from Italy, Ireland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Scandinavia. But, after all, what do Coppel's Hill and all the other hills, Bunker, Breed's, Fort and Beacon; the Burying Grounds, Central, Old Granary and Copp's; the churches, Old North, Old South Meeting House and King's Chapel; those venerable relics, Faneuil Hall and the Old State House; and the ever ancient elm shaded and grass grown Common; such thoroughfares as Shawmut, Tremont and Washington, and the blind alleys tagged with odd names; the bronze figure of CRISPUS ATTURUS on the sacred Common; the statue of Governor WINTHROP at Scollay Square, and the memorial to SAM ADAMS

in his own square; what do all these things mean to a majority of the citizens of Boston, who are not ancestor worshippers and who do their voting in the vital present?

Are they to see on every hand, without being tempted to change them, the evidences of a dead, forgotten and remote past when they have their own leaders, celebrities and successful men to admire and perpetuate? If they can fill the City Council with their elect and put their own statesmen in the City Hall, what is to prevent them from cosmopolitanizing Boston's names of places without troubling themselves about tradition and the history books?

Nevertheless, we expect to see some fuss made in Boston about the matter.

"Doc" REITMAN, the reformed hobo and Harvard man.—New York Times.

Mr. REITMAN may be a reformed hobo, but the quinquennial catalogue of Harvard University knows him not as a "Harvard man," reformed or unreformed. We have often mentioned the curious habit which the northwestern inventor, who is a "Harvard man," has of saying that such and such a public character, say a forger at Kansas City, a faster at Baton Rouge, the founder of a new religion in Sleepy Eye, a man arrested in Denver for "beating his fare," is a "Harvard graduate," or a "Yale graduate," or a "University of Michigan man" or a "Cornell man."

An Orange county supervisor thought \$1.50 a day sufficient pay for an almsman who appeared as an expert witness. If expert testimony ever becomes as unprofitable to those who give it as it is to those who hear it the records of criminal cases will be shortened considerably.

Mr. DERNBURG, the German Colonial Secretary, who went to German East Africa in July to form his own opinion as to the value of that colony, surprised everybody by his frank investigation. He found that the railway took him to Victoria Nyanza and a steamer carried him to the German posts on its shores; then he walked practically all the way back to the Indian Ocean, about 500 miles, his route leading through Tabora and the mountains to Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of the colony. It was difficult to keep up with the procession, and a few miles of the journey gave up and sought easier means of transportation.

It was a fine way to see the country. The reporter of the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* asserts that when DERNBURG went home he knew as much about German East Africa as the Governor of the colony, and that the Colonial Secretary is enthusiastic over its prospects. He says that two facts have stimulated the remarkable progress of the German colonies. One is the fact that the German colonies are still further depopulated in comparison with the 200,000 of Wyoming and Nevada in proportion as you increase the governmental power which the latter may equally share.

Take the power to regulate commerce between the States. One of the great purposes for which the national Government was formed was to secure free trade throughout the Union and to prevent one State from setting up an embargo against the products of another. But it is contended to-day that the power to regulate includes the power to prohibit, and that the national Government formed to secure an unobstructed internal trade has power to prohibit such trade as it chooses from crossing State lines. We see a myriad of little laws attempting to burrow through the great dykes erected by the Constitution. These two great States bring suit against each other, their first trade relations with each other, involving a volume of commerce to-day that is well nigh incalculable. The power to set up an embargo against this trade was never granted by them to any Government.

If the West and South, instead of being wealthy as they are to-day from a succession of great crops, were heavily in debt as they were in 1893, undoubtedly the crisis through which we have been passing would surpass in severity any other from which we have suffered in the last half century. At it is, it is likely to run a much shorter course. But that it has been expensive there can be no doubt. Nearly all the banks of the country for a time practically suspended payments. Works of great public utility have been stopped, and we have seen the flight of workmen darkening the ocean and disturbing the labor markets of foreign capitals.

The All America Eleven.—A question has been raised as to the responsibility for the crisis of the last year, heard of in the newspapers as speculation as if it were a new disease. Undoubtedly we have had too much speculation, but the speculation has been of a different kind. There was certainly a beginning of trouble in the interval between the crisis of '73 and '93. Railroads were then constructed far in advance of the demands of business, and the surplus of the roads was being hoarded in the hands of the receivers. Stock watering was openly and generally practiced in almost all corporate enterprises. We saw people by the railroads going to the States of Alabama and Tennessee and other States, and farming land which to-day still remains under the plough was sold at fabulous prices as corporate property. The surplus of the roads was being hoarded in the hands of the receivers. Stock watering was openly and generally practiced in almost all corporate enterprises. We saw people by the railroads going to the States of Alabama and Tennessee and other States, and farming land which to-day still remains under the plough was sold at fabulous prices as corporate property. The surplus of the roads was being hoarded in the hands of the receivers. Stock watering was openly and generally practiced in almost all corporate enterprises. We saw people by the railroads going to the States of Alabama and Tennessee and other States, and farming land which to-day still remains under the plough was sold at fabulous prices as corporate property.

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GOVERNMENT AND PANIC.

Representative Samuel W. McCall's speech to the Pennsylvania Society.

The United States is a land to which a response could nowhere be more fittingly made than at a representative association of Pennsylvania. It was in that Commonwealth that the Declaration of Independence was first put forth and the Constitution was framed. The darkest time in the struggle for independence was seen at Valley Forge, and from that moment the cause of the nation advanced steadily toward the day. Again, in the next century, when the whole fabric of our Government was threatened with destruction, the high water mark of dauntless courage was reached at Gettysburg. And I doubt not that Pennsylvania will remain constant to that system with which she has so gloriously identified herself in every crisis of our history, and that she will be the last to consent to substitute the ignis fatuus of the moment for the settled boundaries of the Constitution.

The distinctive character of our government appears in the national name. The United States is not a centralized autocracy but a federated government—a union of States which by their own action or that of the people composing them has been created and maintained. The growth of time has shown this scheme to be even more necessary than when it was first established. With forty-six different sovereignties we should have chaos and confusion without any central authority, and an Executive ruling the whole continent from a single center we should have despotism. The exact distribution of power between the nation and the States insures stability while it preserves freedom. It keeps the States harmoniously moving in their orbits, not perigeeing them to wander out into space by too little attraction, and avoiding doing away with the States by separate existence by drawing them into the central mass.

The results achieved under this system have been such that one would think its permanency established beyond all cavil. But our history has shown the necessity of unceasing vigilance. We have seen a Constitution which for a whole century has shown itself adapted to secure a regulated freedom and a national progress such as the world had never seen started on its way to the scrap heap in a few brief years of peace to make way for a system of centralized government.

This is a matter of vital concern to every State, and especially to the two great States represented here to-night. The compromise of the Constitution gave to the small States the same weight in the great powers of the Senate as to the large ones, but the effect of this democratic blemish was limited to the powers granted to the national Government. But if the powers reserved to the States are to be usurped by the national Government, and made subject to this disparity of representation, then an especial wrong is perpetrated upon the large States of the Union. The small States are thus placed in a position of inequality with the large States, and the latter are thus placed in a position of inequality with the small States.

Take the power to regulate commerce between the States. One of the great purposes for which the national Government was formed was to secure free trade throughout the Union and to prevent one State from setting up an embargo against the products of another. But it is contended to-day that the power to regulate includes the power to prohibit, and that the national Government formed to secure an unobstructed internal trade has power to prohibit such trade as it chooses from crossing State lines. We see a myriad of little laws attempting to burrow through the great dykes erected by the Constitution. These two great States bring suit against each other, their first trade relations with each other, involving a volume of commerce to-day that is well nigh incalculable. The power to set up an embargo against this trade was never granted by them to any Government.

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ferent, and when most wisely applied they will be seen slowly but constantly to enlarge the domain of human freedom, and thus progress will come about, for after all the world is pushed ahead by the enterprise of the individual acting under the shield of law. One who knows nothing of surgery can inflict a wound which the most skillful surgeon and the slow process of nature cannot repair.

The erroneous and dangerous attack levelled at our prosperity when a real evil which already had an ample remedy was met by a theoretical remedy which had no reference to it. Three years ago there was scarcely a heart in our whole country that was not beating to the rhythm of the cry for a remedy which was only recently discovered. Three years ago we were proud of the dazzling achievements of our railroad builders. We believed our system the best in the world. The iron had been laid out on a scale of unoccupied spaces at great peril to capital, and as a result prosperous States were created by a magic and splendid capital raised for their homes on the desert. As a result of this policy it did not begrudge a reasonable return to the railroad builders.

Suddenly a policy with reference to railroads of which the country had had no warning in the platform of the victorious party or in the utterance of its successful candidate was brought forward. There had been no ample capital in the construction of the railroad and in the eloquent speeches of its candidate, who now pathetically rehearses his stolen honors, but possibly with consolation at the thought that he is at least equaling responsibility in the disaster resulting from their appropriation. Three years ago, with the most stringent laws against railroad discrimination already upon our statute books, rate making by an executive body was proclaimed to be the remedy for an evil which it had no rational relation whatever, and the rates, confiscatory though they might be, fixed by this political commission were immediately to take effect in advance even of an appeal to the courts.

In view of the attitude of the parties this policy had no justification upon the basis of any of the principles of representative government. Once a furious reaction against railroad property was entered upon at Washington, and acrimony and passion were kindled in the public mind which found expression in nearly every section of the country, a railroad man was regarded prima facie as a criminal, and a certificate of railroad stock as a certificate of the bad character of the owner. It was inevitable that the candidates should be chosen from the minds of investors. Certainly